1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

(women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One informant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and "tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

The home in which the family lives is made by the women and is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and approximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the framework, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being [521] instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

603 paid to him. My father said the old man was kind to him, was always gentle with him, and used to advise him. He took more trouble with him than other relatives did.

[538 867] The maternal grandparents, who are the approved raconteurs for the children of the extended family, function to a considerable degree as teachers, for a good deal of instruction for the young comes obliquely through stories.

603 868 [855 462] The influence of the maternal grandparents is not limited to oral instruction. While the younger men are hunting or raiding and the younger women are away gathering food or getting wood and water, the care of the children and the performance of camp tasks fall to the older people. The grandfather makes arrows, ropes, and many other objects. Often his grandson watches him or even assists him. The grandmother cooks, sews, and weaves baskets, occasionally pausing to explain her methods to her granddaughter.

603 869 756 Ceremonial knowledge may also be received from the grandparent. Many rites result from personal experiences with the supernatural, but a certain number are passed along to others by those who have had such individual encounters. When a ceremony is transmitted, it is most often taught to a relative. Usually a shaman is reluctant to reveal his secrets until he feels that the end of his life is near and that his ceremony will perish with him unless a successor is found. Thus there is a tendency for very old persons to seek younger relatives as their understudies in things ceremonial. The grandchild often proves a promising candidate, especially if he is not too young during his grandparent's declining years.

603 The paternal grandparents usually cannot hope for a great deal of contact with their son's child. At marriage their son has left their encampment, and his obligations are to his wife's relatives. Yet when it happens that the father's parents do live near the extended family into which their son has married, they take pleasure in being with their grandchildren and may even rival the maternal grandparents in solicitude.

601 603 Four kinship terms, one for each grandparent, label the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Since they are used as self-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

836 Premarital chastity is expected in the girl. The maidenhead is considered the proof of virginity. A marriage may be abrogated [586] if a bride is found to have been unchaste, and a girl who is deserted [585] for this reason brings disgrace to herself and her family.

But, because of the heightened round of physical activity at about the time of adolescence and the encouragement of early marriage, premarital sexual activity does not become a serious problem. Of great importance, also, is the existence of separate spheres of activity for men and women. This dichotomy tends to draw the child's interest away from situations which involve the other sex and causes him to seek recognition, rather, in those outlets unequivocally masculine or unequivocally feminine.

867 834 An Apache boy is trained not to pay too much attention to the women. It is not considered manly. The Apache girl is expected to be reserved, and a show of affection in public between the sexes is laughed at. This training becomes a part of the Apache's thought. He sees it all around him. He notices who is laughed at and who is thought well of, and why. This bashfulness, the unwillingness openly to show a lot of feeling for one of the other sex, is carried right through. It comes out in courtship. It comes out even in marriage.

834 156 Of an aberrant girl who violates the conventions in this regard, the following criticism was offered:

Unlike most Chiricahua girls, she is not bashful. If she came in the room here, she would start talking to you. Lots of the old Indians hold this against her. It is considered too forward for a boy to walk up to a girl and start talking a lot. But when I see this girl I go up to her and start talking. I wouldn't dare do that with any other woman. She will hail someone at a dance before a lot of other people. Many of the older people do not like her for this.

834 Since casual contact between the sexes is discouraged, any overt signs of friendliness between men and women suggest the desire for intimacy. Once when an informant had gone to some trouble to reach a man's camp, he declined to wait there for his friend who was expected back in a short time, saying, "Well, it wouldn't look well if C. came and found me here with these women. C. and I are great friends, and I wouldn't want him to think anything bad of me."

"The feeling is that a man should go his way with his friends and a woman her way with her friends." Anything else is effemi- [836] nacy on the man's part, forwardness on the woman's. These are

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

621 596 [582] A great many families of a local group are related, but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

621 222 462 The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together. Those who went would go and come from the main group. It might be that they'd split off into smaller parties which would later rejoin. It depends on how thick the mescal is in one place and how many people there are.

621 619 484 The members of the local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band. An individual or family of the Southern Chiricahua band might join many Southern Chiricahua local groups in turn. . . . .

621 701 726 At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. When they made camp at night, those from one local group would stay together. For boys' training, the young fellows of a local group are the most that would be brought together at one time.

621 602 182 Though allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common. In these matters it cuts across the boundaries of the extended family, and, if a married man has blood relatives in the same local group, it offers him the opportunity to co-operate with these kin for many purposes. This means that his horizon is never entirely limited to the interests of his affinities.

THE WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND'S RELATIVES

602 596 The married woman has no formal obligation to labor for her husband's relatives but is expected to carry on her industrial activities in company with her mother and sisters as a permanent member of the extended family in which she was born. Moreover, none of her husband's kin calls upon her to avoid them. To express approval, some of them may, however, use polite form in speaking to her.

602 195

Relatives of a boy can ask the girl he marries for polite talk if they think much of him. His own brothers and sisters and cousins can do this. The father and mother of the boy don't do this. They regard their son's wife as their own daughter. The brothers and sisters of both the father and the mother can do it though. But they don't have to. It's up to them.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

756 755 Some shamans next seek to learn whether they will be able to relieve the patient. One ceremonialist has, in recent times, looked at the sick person through a black silk handkerchief to determine this. Another draws the moon or a star with pollen on the palm of his right hand, and figures appear for him which permit him to prophesy concerning the outcome.

[533] [782] [776] 756 755 534 [533] To determine the cause of the ailment and to learn what he must do to cure it, the shaman sings and prays. In this way he attracts the attention of the guardian spirit with whom the songs and prayers originated. He may sing without musical accompaniment, or he may beat time with a curved drumstick on the pottery drum that has been thus described:

[462] Women make the pot. Men fix it to sing with and make the drumstick. The drum is a piece of buckskin stretched over a clay pot. Water and four pieces of charcoal, each the size of the end of my thumb, are put in. The charcoal is required for a ceremony. It makes the sound good too. The water is to keep the buckskin damp. The buckskin is wet and stretched over the mouth of the pot. It takes several men [to fix the buckskin in place]. It is sounded until it is right and then tied. Then four little holes are made in the buckskin. If this is not done, it will not be much of a drum. It helps the sound and is of ceremonial importance too. The drumstick is made of any kind of green wood that can be bent. Oak is sometimes used for it.

[824]

Less frequently the musical accompaniment is a rattle of some kind. Rattles of eagle claws and mountain-goat hooves have been mentioned for shamanistic rites. Occasionally, the shaman has an assistant who drums for him and aids him throughout the rite.

756 755 [533] [782] The songs are formal and unvarying for any one ceremony. The prayers tend to be extemporaneous, however, reflecting the need and the occasion. The song, and often the prayer, is divided into four parts or verses, all alike except for different associations of color and direction. The traditional color-directional association which is found in the mythology is black for the east, blue for the south, yellow for the west, and white for the north. Shamans take repeated liberties with this scheme, but for any one rite internal consistency is maintained. It is at the second or fourth verse of a song or prayer, or at the end of the second or

[822] [823]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

MAINTENANCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

HUNTING

224 462 IN THE securing of sufficient food the preoccupation of the man is properly with the hunt. "They think they are doing enough by going around hunting all day and getting food together." Except for participation in occasional rabbit surrounds, women are not encouraged to show concern for matters pertaining to the hunt. "Women never go out hunting because they aren't strong and able to get around," it was explained; but another comment suggests that the idea of appropriate male and female spheres is quite as important a consideration.

[152] The Chiricahua don't like to see a man go out hunting with a woman, whether they're married or not. It's considered a disgrace. One man used to do this. He was so jealous he didn't like to leave his wife alone. The Whitetail people saw him going out hunting with his wife, and they criticized him and laughed at him.

224 Since the deer is the most important game animal, a hunting trip, unless it is otherwise stated, may be assumed to have as its goal the securing of venison. Whether or not a specific ceremony 224 precedes the hunt, certain precautions are always observed:

262 784 There are two things you cannot do before you go hunting. One is to eat onions. The other is to chew osha [*Ligusticum porteri*]. The deer will smell you if you do. Suppose you are going hunting tomorrow morning. You can't eat them tonight then. You can't even dig them the day before you are going out to hunt. [252] But the Chiricahua eat onions with deer meat when they come back from the hunt. They use the onions raw while they are eating the meat or they boil the onions with the meat.

[302] When you are going hunting you take care not to clean yourself up. Perhaps you have been eating the meat of some animal and therefore have been rubbing the grease and marrow of the long bones on your face, legs, and arms. You keep this on. And you don't put anything else on yourself that may smell; nothing sweet-smelling like perfume [i.e., "Indian perfume," such as mint] can be used at this time.

224 261 785 Fasting immediately before the hunt aids the chances for success:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

727 354 There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally discarded at this time, but there are suggestions that more freedom than usual is allowed:
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> The dancing may go on for two, three, or four days. There is much feasting. Some people are eating, others are dancing. There are many marriages during this period. The Chiricahua, when they were captured and taken to Mexico, noticed that, when the Mexican people had a big victory, they always celebrated by dancing and marrying and having a good time. To get even with them, the Chiricahua turn their victories into a celebration and a dancing and marrying time. Many young men take advantage of the occasion.

727 Thoughts of death are not permitted to interfere with the
761 happy mood: "Dead warriors are not mentioned in the songs, and the deaths are in no way formally announced. When the war party returns, the members state the news of the casualties pri-
[783] vately." There is no general purifying rite for those who have
[775] come in contact with corpses during the fighting. The use by
[789] some of "ghost medicine" to stave off evil effects is "an individual matter; they don't do it in a bunch."

• 462 THE GATHERING AND UTILIZATION OF WILD FOOD PLANTS

222 The responsibility of exploiting the wild-plant resources of the region falls to the women:

> [512] While the man is hunting, the woman gets up before sunrise, builds the fire if the man hasn't already done so, and cooks the morning meal, using meat if there is some, vegetables if not. Then she goes out to gather seeds or plants, leaving the small children with another woman. She gathers yucca fruit, piñon nuts, or whatever is in season and carries it all home to prepare.

Gathering, preparing, and storing fruits and vegetables provide a continual round of labor as the women follow the natural harvests:

> [251] In spring they go out for mescal. They keep going for it for some time. They get plenty of it and store it up. By the time that is done they can go out after the first acorns and bring them in and store them in bags. Then the yucca fruit and the sumac berries and other things are ready.

821 The preoccupation with the growth of wild plants is reflected
865 in the attitude toward the seasons and in the names of the principal time periods. Besides the four seasons, six time periods, beginning with the first signs of spring, divide the year. Their

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

252 stones, covers them with dampened grass, and heaps a mound of earth over all. If she does this in the morning, the food will be thoroughly steamed by evening.

[251] After the stalks have been cooked this way, they may be sun-dried and kept for some time, even for a year, in a parfleche. When they are wanted, they are soaked in water to soften them and eaten. Or they may be eaten immediately after they have been baked—often pounded—while they are still soft, with fruit from the broad-leafed yucca or some other fruit. This stalk is not the favorite vegetable, but it becomes important when other food is scarce.

[262] Available at this time also are the white rootstocks and the tender lower portions of the shoots of the tule. These are boiled with meat or made into a soup. "We boil the root with a soup bone as some people do turnips." The root is sometimes dried and stored.

[262] By now the clusters of white flowers of the narrow-leafed yucca are in bloom. These are gathered and boiled with meat or bones. Any surplus is boiled, dried, and stored. The buds of still another variety of yucca (unidentified) are opened and dried.

[251] During the process they must be impaled on sticks "as you dry
[263] peaches; you cannot put them on a hide because they would stick to it. . . . These are used to sweeten drinks." The drinks are various kinds of "tea" to be discussed presently.

[262] Not long after this an important food, the agave, century plant, or, as it is more commonly known, the mescal, is ready. The stalks, before any blossoms appear, are cut and roasted or pit baked like yucca stalks, but much more important as a food is the lower portion or crown. If the women live far from the
[484] place where mescal is plentiful, they make a long trip to obtain it, establish a temporary camp, and prepare it there before returning home. When many crowns are to be baked, a large pit must be dug and many rocks transported to it; therefore, men sometimes accompany the party to assist with this heavy labor.

• [462] Whether men are present or not, the women are in charge of the proceedings:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

222 252 262 [251] to meat dishes to form a gravy, or they are made into flour for bread baked in hot ashes. Sunflower seeds and other seeds are often placed with hot coals in a tray basket and "worked around" until they are parched.

824 [221] In the fall when the tule is yellow with pollen, the tops of the plants are cut off, brought to camp, and dried. Then the dry tops are shaken or struck over an outspread buckskin. Pollen is gathered, without special ceremony, from other plants and from trees by shaking them after placing a piece of well-tanned, uncolored [239] buckskin to catch it. Buckskin is always the proper receptacle. It is said that "pollen would go through cloth," but more important is the feeling that "it would be wrong" to use anything but buckskin for pollen bags and containers.

222 462 [221] From early spring to the onset of winter, the woman gathers fruits and vegetables which grow at different elevations and in different areas. She does not keep at this task steadily, for she has many other duties. But she must be ready at the report of a good natural harvest to leave at once for the region where it is. 222 484 592 621 [596] Often it is near by; but many times the site is so far distant, and the work ahead so time-consuming, that the entire household goes with her and sets up a temporary camp. Using this as a base, the husband hunts while his wife gathers the wild crop that has drawn them there. Not infrequently more than one household or an extended family consisting of a number of households temporarily leaves the larger encampment or local group on such an errand. Thus, in order that the woman may obtain the various foods in the order in which they mature, the household remains a mobile unit, ready to detach itself from the local group at short notice and to rejoin this group or another just as easily.

222 While the women are foraging, they are on the lookout for beehives:

[824] Honey is found in the stalks of mescal, sotol, and the narrow-leafed yucca. The bee deposits the honey in the stalk. The bee which does this is a big yellow one. The women search for honey in these stalks. They gather it in the fall. They split the stalk to find it. It's like candy. I used to be great for honey!

Honey is also obtained from a large yellow bee that nests in the ground. To secure this store, the device of allowing the bees to

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

emerge one by one and killing them as they come out is employed. A ceremonial touch is given the unearthing of these ground hives. "When the Chiricahua come upon one of these nests, they mark a big circle and say, 'May you be as big as this.' Then they open it up."

When hives are discovered in trees or in logs, a smudge fire is used to smoke the bees out. The co-operation of a man skilled in the use of the sling is required when hives are found among the rocks in cliffs. "He throws at it with a sling and brings it down. The bees leave the hive. Then the people go and get the honey. We put honey in drinks and eat it with bread." The bees which nest in the cliffs and bluffs are described as smaller and darker in color than the others. Sometimes a hive is wrapped in a hide and brought home before it is opened.

THE COOKING AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT PRODUCTS

The woman is not only responsible for the preparation and storage of the food which she herself collects but is expected to take charge of the meat which the man contributes to the household:

A man hunts and butchers the game. He brings it in to the woman. After that it's her job to take care of it.

I never heard of a man cooking when his wife was around in the old days. He doesn't now either. Getting water is a woman's job too. I don't see any men doing it even now. The same is true of getting and cutting wood. The men sit around and smoke and tell stories when they are at home.

Certain parts of an animal are seldom eaten. Ritual restrictions placed upon individual members of the household must be kept in mind too:

Some people ate pancreas a long time ago, I believe. I'm not sure. Now they don't do it. Some shaman started telling people not to eat this and that, and now they can hardly eat anything from the inside, it seems.

The Chiricahua does not like to eat any meat from the head.

It is dangerous to eat the heart. As a general rule the Chiricahua do not eat the heart of an animal. I think to myself, "Well, I don't know what there is to it, but I won't do it because it looks dangerous." My wife won't do it either.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

252 262 "The stomach isn't often eaten. Now when we butcher a cow, the stomach is thrown away."

Birds that are considered edible are most often boiled. Turkeys are eviscerated, plucked, and then boiled, for instance.

251 [462] It is the woman's task, also, to preserve any surplus meat by "jerking" it:

> She takes the thick parts, cuts them thin, and hangs them up to dry in the sun. To use the meat after it is dried, she pounds it up with a stone. It can be mixed with fat then and eaten like this without being cooked. Or even without the fat it is used on the march and in emergencies. When the people are in no hurry, this pounded meat can be added to soup, boiled in water, or fried. It will soften when boiled in water. This dried meat, in strips or in pounded form, can be kept in caches or carried in sacks. Jerked meat, when the people are camping in one place for a time, is laid over the higher limbs of a near-by tree.

THE PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES

273 462 [292] The preparation of beverages, both alcoholic and nonalcoholic, is classified with cooking and is, therefore, the task of the woman. Of tiswin-making it was said: "A man would never [558] make tiswin. It would lower his standing. One man used to [156] make it, but he was a roughneck, and didn't care about his standing. He lowered himself many times."

292 The juice of the prickly pear is occasionally drunk, but "for health" rather than for quenching thirst. Drinks which are compared to commercial coffee and tea are described:

> In those days when coffee was scarce, some people used the bark of different trees, such as oak [Gambel oak] to make a drink. Some used a plant for tea. It is [824] better than the tea you buy. The English name for it is lip fern. It grows all around here. There is another plant [cota] that is used for tea too. To make it, some is just broken into convenient pieces, put in a pot, boiled, and the water drained off. It is about the same color as store tea and tastes much the same.

273 [824] Alcoholic beverages are made from mescal, sotol, mesquite, and, more recently, from maize and wheat. Tiswin, the maize drink, is the only one of these beverages which is made or consumed in appreciable quantities. [554] The people have become very fond of this mild beer, and the services and company of a woman who can make it well are in constant demand.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the big ditches they used at Hot Springs." "We've had corn as long as I can remember." "The Eastern Chiricahua planted corn even in the old times." "All the groups of Eastern Chiricahua planted." Maize was undoubtedly the first vegetable raised. "When I was young," recalled a very old man, "we never had any cultivated vegetables except corn. Later others came from Old Mexico." 241 177 184 [243]

The influence of the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south in the impetus toward agricultural pursuits is admitted:

> The Eastern Chiricahua raised corn, pumpkins, potatoes, onions, chili, and watermelons. We had a good deal of contact with Spanish towns. We learned to speak Spanish, and the Spanish people showed us how to raise these things. We got the seeds from the Mexicans too. We got big hoes from them or traded them from the whites. [439]

The Eastern band made good use of the intervals of peace:

> If a Chiricahua had a Mexican friend, he would get corn as a gift, and the Indian might give a horse or something else to the Mexican. We planted at Hot Springs as well as in Mexico. We received corn up here, as well as in Mexico, from the Mexicans living around. The Indians used to be good friends with the Mexicans often. When I was small I used to play with Mexican children. They gave me the name the white people call me by now. [431] [648]

The techniques of cultivation in use among the Eastern Chiricahua are described by an informant:

> We planted corn, cantaloupes, and watermelons. No squash or pumpkins were planted at first. Some Chiricahua never had pumpkins or squash until 1885 or 1886, except what they could get from other peoples. [244]
>
> We used irrigation. We dug trenches from a stream to the farm and stopped these irrigation ditches with dirt when we wanted to block them. When the corn was big enough to hoe, we went out in the woods and made a hoe of bent root. Later we had hoes from the Mexicans. To make the holes for the seeds, we used just a pointed stick. The men worked in the fields; the women worked in the fields too, but mostly men did it. [412] [462]

Although this informant feels that agriculture is a legitimate activity for men, another disagrees, saying: "Planting was considered a woman's job. That is the way I feel. At Fort Sill men had to do it." "Men, women, and boys assisted," according to a third spokesman. Evidently, the division of labor in agricultural work was not clear cut. 241 462

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

24 184 177 [433] [243] [462] [262] Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[11] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

[162] [621] [496]

[244] We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

243 A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

241 [771] [773] [824] Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an [825] association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops [782] grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[11] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

[114]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

In discussing the various pollens used ritually, an informant included corn pollen and remarked. "You can get some pollen from corn; they used some of this a long time ago."

As in the case of other food products, it is the woman's task to cook and preserve the corn:

They would build a big fire and bring in load after load of the corn in sacks. Three or four women would work together. They would sit there and shuck corn and put it in the fire and let it get brown on top. Then they would throw it to a place where another woman sat. She would take the ears, cut off the kernels, put them on a clean hide, and throw away the cobs. Then they spread it out in the sun to dry. They would leave the corn out there for a week or two until it was very dry. They can carry that corn around then, and it won't spoil. It will keep for a year. They don't have to keep it in a cool place either. They store it in parfleches and use it in winter.

In the winter when the snow gets to be two or three feet deep, a man goes out and kills game and brings it in. Then they can use the dry corn with meat and bones, letting it boil together for three or four hours. It surely makes a good stew! We're using it right now, for we stored up last summer's corn. This dried corn is used at almost every puberty rite now too.

The dried kernels are also roasted or parched:

I saw my people cook corn in a shallow basket many times. They put several pounds of corn in the basket with some hot coals and keep working it around. The corn kernels split, and then they take them out and fill it up again.

Another corn dish reflects the influence of Mexican townspeople:

The Chiricahua never boiled the corn in the husks. They stripped off the husks. They cut off the corn kernels and piled them up. They ground the corn on a rock, using a big stone in the hand [mano and metate]. In those days flour was hard to get, and they made bread out of the ground corn. They used the corn husks to make a sort of tamale. They put some corn meal in a cornhusk and wrapped it up, tying it with a thin strip of cornhusk. Then they put it in water to boil with meat and bones. If they had chili, they put it in with the corn meal.

In season the corn is eaten fresh:

When they had the green corn, they cut the end off after husking it, broke it in two, and put it on to boil with bones or meat. In summer when the corn was ripe, they went out and brought in lots of it.

HOME INDUSTRIES OF WOMEN

In addition to her other tasks, the woman must furnish those things essential to the proper running of the household:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

462 313 [283] [281] Men can carry wood, but they think it is woman's work. The women make their own rope out of hide, a special rope. It is about five yards long and of hard rawhide. They soften it with brains just enough so they can tie it. The women use this rope for getting wood.

313 482 283 When a woman is going to get some wood, she doesn't carry great logs. She gets thin pieces of brush and sticks about three feet long and makes them into a bundle about a foot and a half thick. She ties the bundle at either end with this rope, leaving a rather long loop between. She puts the wood in a bundle on her back, and the rope comes over her shoulders and across her chest, or else just across her forehead.

A man could use this rope if he wanted to—to hobble horses for instance. But the rope is put where the woman can get it any time to carry wood. The man uses it only if he needs a rope in a hurry.

312 462 [415] The woman must keep on hand a plentiful supply of water for drinking, cooking, and washing. She brings it from a near-by spring or stream in a pitch-covered basketry jar.

281 [462] [1193] *Tanning and the use of hides.*—"Tanning the hide is always considered woman's work. Men never do it." In the mythology, when Woodpecker wishes to deceive Coyote and make him think he is a girl, he scrapes a hide after the fashion of women. Yet certain realistic concessions are made. "Sometimes a man helps if it is a hard job, a big hide; he helps stretch it because it takes great strength."

The fresh pelt is treated in this manner:

[412] [178] First the woman who is doing the tanning scrapes off the flesh with a sharpened deer bone or a sharp-edged stone. (At present she uses a scraper with a toothed metal blade.) Then she soaks the hide in water for two or three days—not too long or it will spoil. To soak the skin, she uses a basin formed of some stiff hide. Then she takes the skin out of the water and wraps it around a pole. She leans this pole against a tree so that the hide will not pull away. Then she scrapes downward with a sharpened horse rib and takes the hair off. She uses a rib near the neck because it is wider there.

When all the hair has been removed, she puts some grass on the ground and lays the skin on top of this grass with the inner side facing upward. She pegs it out here in the sun to dry for two or three days. If it is lumpy or too thick in places, she works it over with a rough stone to even it up and to soften it at those places.

The process of transforming the scraped hide into buckskin has been thus described:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

281 When a skin is to be used as a robe or a blanket, still another procedure is followed:

When a hide is to be used for a blanket, the hair is left on. Deer and mountain sheep pelts are prepared like this. The inner side is fleshed carefully and pounded to soften it. Deer brains are rubbed on this inner side, and the blanket is worked until it is soft.

When they have those skins with hair on for blankets, they use them any way according to the weather. In cold weather they put the fur side inside.

282 28 [462] Making saddle bags is also one of the woman's tasks:

After the hide is removed, the woman stakes it out in the sun. Sometimes she has grass under it, sometimes not. The hair side is underneath. She leaves it there until it is dry. Then she takes it and puts the hair side up. She has a sharp tool with which to scrape off the hair. Then she fleshes it. After scraping it, she rubs it with the brains to make it soft. She doesn't soak it in water at all. Now she cleans, cuts, folds, and sews it. Then she cuts a slit in the middle and puts dirt in on each side. When the hide is entirely dry, she takes the dirt out. A bulge is left on each side where the dirt was. Then it is ready to be put on the horse.

415 184 [186] The parfleche or flat hide container is a recent acquisition, and its use has not penetrated to all sections of the tribe. Southern Chiricahua informants say that the parfleche was not made by them, and some Central Chiricahua report that it was not found in their group. One Central Chiricahua informant was much incensed, however, at the suggestion that the parfleche he described might have been inspired by Mescalero examples:

The Chiricahua had the parfleche, as I have told you. In fact, it originated with the Chiricahua. These Mescalero never went around or found out anything! They stayed right here year after year. They got the parfleche from the Chiricahua. I was with the Chiricahua when they were going from Fort Apache to Florida [1886]. Some of them had parfleches then. I saw parfleches in my own home.

281 282 415 [177] [462] The Central Chiricahua parfleche is very simply made. The fact that cowhide seems to be the only material used in its manufacture points to its recent adoption:

In the old days we had parfleches. The woman made them, and it is hard work to make one. She has to scrape off the flesh from the inside of the skin and scrape a little of the fur off the top. She has to work around and around, and pound and pound it until she gets it the way she wants it. First she pounds it all

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

over, or it will be too thick. Then she pounds it more where she is going to fold it. 282 281

She cuts it the size and shape she wants, so that when she folds it over it will come out even. It is made by folding the cowhide over. You fold it over once, and then again, and then from the ends. The end pieces go on top usually. Some fold the ends in first and then fold the sides. There is no one way of doing it. Next the woman cuts out a cowhide rope and ties it, first the long way and then the short way. That's all there is to it. 415

You can store things away in it and keep it in a cave, or you can carry it on your pack horse. Bushes and rocks won't hurt it. Rain won't hurt it, because it is made out of cowhide. I've seen some with fur on and some without fur. The Central Chiricahua never put designs on the parfleches. They have them all sizes. I never saw any that were not made of cowhide and never heard of any that were made of anything else. 415 [184] [531]

The Eastern Chiricahua lavish more care upon the manufacture of the parfleche. Two side pieces are made to fit over the bottom, and then the two end pieces are brought over and laced. All the fur is taken off, and designs, "as on the bow," are painted on the outer surface. One informant stated that men cannot be present when a woman is working on a parfleche, an interesting example of the strong feeling for the sexual division of labor. 282 281 415 [184] [531] [462]

This feeling extends into the artistic field, and the character of the decoration on painted or incised objects is determined by the sex of the worker. "Men draw things, such as animals, people, and freehand figures. Women do not. I would feel that it was out of place for a woman to do this. She doesn't even paint a star. She would just make certain patterns [conventional designs]. She can do this at any time." 462 531

Other hide objects besides parfleches are made by the woman. Awl cases and pollen bags are fashioned from buckskin. Bags to hold piñon nuts and acorns are made of badger skins. These are hung in the home, as much for their beauty as for their utility. The woman also cuts plate-shaped pieces of rawhide to be used "like the shallow woven bowl." In addition, she prepares "a container of rawhide, having the shape of a burden basket, but only half as large" to be used as a water carrier. 282 415 [462]

The quiver and the bow cover are so intimately associated with masculine activities that it is considered essential for a man to have some part in making them. The woman prepares the 281 462

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

281 skin, the man cuts out the pieces to be used, and the woman
462 sews them together.

281 The women color buckskin with a number of dyes of their own
386 making. Dark brown is obtained from the juice of fresh walnut hulls, crushed and pressed. The buckskin is soaked in a mixture of the walnut-hull juice and water and is then re-worked to softness. Red is secured from the boiled root and bark of mountain mahogany. When this dye is lukewarm or cool, the buckskin is put in it and is left overnight or for a day; later it must be reworked with a stone until it is pliable. A yellow decoction is made by soaking algerita roots. The buckskin is left in the dye until it is yellow and is afterward pounded and softened. Yellow ocher is sometimes applied to the entire surface of a buckskin; as the color wears away, more ocher must be rubbed on.

294 Sewing is essentially the concern of the women, though men
237 on the raid will do repair work. For thread, the woman needs
283 sinew. Therefore the hunter, when he butchers an animal, always removes the sinew from the loin very carefully and presents it to his wife. Sinew from any large game animal is acceptable, though that from the deer is considered best. In recent times
[178] sinew from the horse and the steer have come to be widely used.
[412] With an awl made from the sharpened leg bone of the deer, the woman punches a hole in the skin she is sewing, moistens the end of the sinew, and runs it through the hole.

285 *Basketry.*—Basket-making is one of the many tasks for which
[462] the woman supplies both the materials and the labor, and she possesses a large fund of knowledge concerning substances and
[824] techniques. She rarely uses cottonwood, since it breaks too easily. She does not use willow unless no other materials are available. She knows that, if she gathers stems in the spring, she will have to let them dry for some days but that, if she takes them in the winter, they are dry enough to use almost at once.

285 The woman makes a coiled tray basket with sumac stems for
824 the foundation and yucca leaves for the sewing material and designs it with yucca of various colors:

To turn the yucca yellow, put dry grass among the leaves in the yucca plant while it is standing in the ground; then set fire to the grass. The fire and smoke

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

285 314 [824] can carry a water jar the same day it is finished. When the pitch has cracked and the jar leaks, she repairs it by putting hot stones in it. Then it comes together again. We use oak leaves or good clean grass to cover the opening. The oak leaves give a good taste to the water if they are used as a cover, we think.

323 *Pottery and household utensils.*—I have not been able to find a single existing example of the ceramics of these people. But women did mold pots at one time. The methods employed by his relative are reported by one informant:

My aunt used to make clay pots. She got red clay, a sticky kind, and ground it between two rocks, ground it fine. She had water at her side and kept putting her hand in to make the clay sticky. She worked the clay. She said she had to grind the clay fine or it would break.

First she made the bottom. She made a ball and pressed it down flat. Then she'd take a pinch of it and roll it out to a long piece and put her hand in the water to make it smooth. She built it up by putting these pieces on, bringing them around the way the sun goes. She rested the pot she was making right by her side on the ground. She smoothed it as she built it, sometimes with her hand dipped in water and sometimes with a flat paddle that she dipped in water. Sometimes she rested the pot she was making right in her lap, sometimes on the ground by her side. Sometimes she made big ones, sometimes little ones.

Then she broke open the little round cactus that grows in clusters [nipple cactus] and rubbed a piece of it on the outside and the inside of the pot. This is sticky. Then she put the pot out in the sun to dry. If the sun was out, it would dry enough to handle and be put in the fire in two or three hours.

Then she built a fire. She used any wood and let it burn down to ashes. Then she put the pot in and kept turning it. She would strike it to see if it was done. She turned it so it got done evenly. The pots were dark brown when they were finished, but some clays made them lighter.

Sometimes she made several at once, of different sizes. She never painted or designed them. Not many women made them. In the big group in which I lived my aunt and two others made them. These women who made pots allowed men to watch while they worked.[13] They never ground up the old pots and put the old material with the new. I saw these women make olla-shaped pots, low bowl-shaped ones, and some that were like a pitcher. My aunt never painted or designed any of them.

Another account adds some interesting details:

[462] Women were the pottery-makers. They went to a place where the animals would come to lick the salt and took clay from there. They rolled this clay with their hands into a long rope and wound this up, coiling it around and around in

[114] [13] This was denied by another informant, who said that men could not be present when women were working on the parfleche or the pot.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

412

are too heavy to carry along. But we take the mano which is ready made and carry it along often. Then the woman uses it on a flat rock or one with a shallow depression.

Some metates are fashioned by the women for themselves, however:

[324]

These metates are about two feet long and one foot wide. They have a little depression which the woman makes by pecking it out with another stone and then rubbing it smooth. A woman has just one grinder on which she grinds the same food several times if she wants to make it finer.

Some women carry these all the time. It all depends on how often we move and how far we are going. The mano used with this grindstone is about six or eight inches long, just long enough so that a woman can work with two hands. Chiricahua women kneel when grinding. We have no grinding songs.

[516] [252] [533]

A pounder of animal bone, or one of a stone selected because its shape conveniently fits the hand, is another utensil with which the woman equips herself.

[237]

462 356

Housebuilding.—The woman not only makes the furnishings of the home but is responsible for the construction, maintenance, and repair of the dwelling itself and for the arrangement of everything in it. She provides the grass and brush beds and replaces them when they become too old and dry. With a stiff grass broom or with a leafy branch, she sweeps out the interior if that is necessary. However, formerly "they had no permanent homes, so they didn't bother with cleaning."

342 [184]

The dome-shaped dwelling or wickiup, the usual house type for all the Chiricahua bands, has already been described.[11] But a "peaked" home of brush, roughly resembling a conical Plains tepee in shape is also made. Said a Central Chiricahua informant:

Both the tepee and the oval-shaped house were used when I was a boy. The oval hut was covered with hide and was the best house. The more well-to-do had this kind. The tepee type was just made of brush. It had a place for a fire in the center. It was just thrown together.

[881] [346] [462]

Both types were common even before my time. For the girl's puberty rite the tepee type was used. Ten or more poles are used in the tepee. The number depends on the person who makes it. It is woman's work to do it, though sometimes the men would help a little.

[11] See pp. 22–23.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

342 184 A house form that departs from the more common dome-shaped variety is recorded for the Southern Chiricahua as well:

A house with sides that go up to a point has been used as far back as I can remember. When we settled down, we used the wickiup; when we were moving around a great deal, we used this other kind. No certain number of poles was used for this type. The poles were never carried along. For the girl's puberty rite my people used the tepee. I can remember this was used back when I was eight or nine years old.

[88] [346]

This alternate house-type with slanting sides was a hastily constructed and very temporary dwelling among the Central and Southern Chiricahua and is hardly comparable to the permanent home of the Plains Indians. Among the Eastern Chiricahua, however, the tepee was more common and was better made, though it never became the favored form:

A few of the Eastern Chiricahua had a tepee like that of the Mescalero. Sometimes it was made with a three-pole base and sometimes with a four-pole base. The three-pole base was more common. In my day it was cloth covered, but the old people talk of them and say that, before the whites and the Spanish were here, hides were used. But most of the people of my group used the round house.

[484] [492] The Eastern Chiricahua didn't drag the poles of the tepee when they moved. They put them on the front of the saddle, as many as they could carry, and then went back for the rest. Usually they just discarded them though. They could always make new ones.

342 In addition to these regular house forms, both men and women, when they were away from home, made windbreaks by "crossing some sticks and throwing brush and leaves against them."

HOME INDUSTRIES OF MEN

411 [462] [824] *Weapons and tools.*—Foremost among the man's tasks when he is at home are the making and the repairing of weapons.

The favorite wood for the bow is from the mulberry tree. Oak, locust, and New Mexico maple are also acceptable. The self-bow is the only type made. It is usually three to four feet long, "the length of two arrows."[16] Almost always it has a single curve, though double-curved bows are made occasionally.

[16] These would be the "short" or hardwood shafted arrows. For arrow lengths see p. 390.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of the split, and the stone is held in place by sinew bindings on either side of it. Often an animal tail is attached to the end of the handle. An ax of this type, without the tail or any decoration, may serve around camp as a household tool.

The man makes for his own use a sling, a diamond-shaped piece of rawhide, pounded a little and thus softened, with four perforations through the median line of its width. A rawhide string is attached to each side, one with a loop at the end and the other without any. Because of the perforations, the sling can be folded over a stone about two and a half inches long and one inch thick. The loop is placed on the middle finger of the right hand, and the free string is held between the thumb and first finger. The sling is drawn back and whirled just once. As it comes forward the unlooped string is released, hurling the stone.

There are slings of two sizes that the Chiricahua carry. One is for things close by and is short. The other is a long one, for long-distance shooting. You can get to be very accurate with a sling. You never whirl the sling around a lot, as the stone might come out and hit someone. It just goes back once, and then you let it go. You can hurl a stone a hundred and fifty yards with it. It can be used for hunting birds or deer alike.

Finally, there is the stone knife, chipped with another stone. "They used to chip off the hardest rock they could get and use it for a knife." This knife may have a shoulder jutting from the handle end so that it can be tied to the belt or waist, or it may be carried in a rawhide sheath made by the woman.

A man makes a long rope from a piece of buckskin or rawhide by cutting it in a continuous clockwise circle from the outer rim to the center. To form an especially strong rope, he braids several strands of rawhide together. Such a cord or one braided from horse-tail hair makes a serviceable bridle. By shredding yucca leaves and braiding the tough strands, he makes a durable rope which also can be used for tying and hobbling horses or for a bit and bridle.

"Anyone could build a fire. Whoever woke up first did it. A woman can use the fire drill." Yet the fire drill is made by the man and is employed by him most frequently:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

If it rained we had a slow-burning fuse that kept a fire going. And when it burned to the end we lit another from it. Thus we kept a fire burning at a rainy time. To play safe, we usually took these fuses along with us in case of emergency, especially if it looked like rain. 372

Since the operation of the fire drill is considered hard work, whenever there is a chance of getting fire by other means, these are attempted first. It is not unusual, for instance, to send some member of the household to a neighboring camp to borrow fire. He "carries a hot coal between two sticks and runs back to his camp. Mesquite wood will burn the longest when carried this way."

Equipment for the horse.—There is a tendency to associate the horse with the man and his affairs. Women obtain horses by gift and in payment for services, particularly ceremonial services, but the majority of the horses remain in the possession of the men: 231 562 425 422

Caring for stock is man's work. Men round up the horses and cattle. When a horse is to be loaded, the woman gets the pack ready, but the man does the loading. Men make the saddles, and they saddle the horses for themselves and their wives. The women know how to saddle horses, however, and can do it when necessary. A woman might saddle a gentle horse. A widow has to saddle her own horse. 462

It is the business of the man to furnish the equipment needed in making use of the horse—the saddle, stirrups, bridle, bit, and quirt. 492 462

The saddle, which is modeled after European examples, has a cottonwood framework. Tree forks are whittled down to form the front and cantle. On the front a projection is left for the horn. Two flat boards are lashed between these forks, one on either side, to form the saddle skirts. Wet hide, often with the fur left on, is stretched over this frame and laced into place. As it dries, it contracts and fits securely. When metal tools came into use, the pieces of the frame were joined still more solidly by burning holes through the wood with a red-hot metal punch and drawing rawhide laces through them. 492 177 322 281 412 322 177

The man also makes a pack saddle, little more than a pad or frame of grass or hide bundles. He makes, too, rounded oak stir-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

243 [648] [177] [412] ernment control. In those days the settlers planted corn far from the houses. It was easy to get, and we got it from the south (Mexico) mostly. We had just a digging stick—no hoe. With this we made holes and planted the corn shallowly, about four or five seeds to one hole. Pulling the weeds was about all the care we gave it. We might be traveling around but we came back to it at the time we knew it would be ready to harvest. My people used no irrigation then. This went on before my time, when my father was a boy too, and before his father's time. The Mescalero planted around Tularosa, New Mexico, and La Luz at that time."

The same informant told how wheat seed, obtained from Mexico during raids or from the early settlers, was planted in sandy loam, harvested by beating it with a stick, and made into bread.

241 177 Later, in the early 1870's, when the Warm Springs Apache were given a separate reservation near Hot Springs, they turned more to agriculture and considerably refined [439] [412] these haphazard methods. Under the influence of neighboring Mexican towns with which they carried on trade, they began to use hoes shaped out of the bent root of a tree, and later obtained hoes of Mexican manufacture. Watermelons and cantaloupes were raised as well as corn, and later beans, pumpkins, potatoes, chile, and squash. Irrigation was now regularly adopted, trenches being dug from the water supply to the field, and stopped up with earth when the land was sufficiently watered. Maize kernels and beans, to be used for seed, were sometimes soaked all night in water to make them sprout faster and then dropped two or three in a hole. Pumpkin and watermelon seeds were often soaked like this before planting too. When the seeds were soaked beforehand they were not planted so deeply as when they were planted dry.

241 [462] Agriculture never became important enough for the Apache to consider it one of the manly arts. Both sexes took part in the task of planting, but the weeding, harvesting, and preparation were left almost entirely to the women. Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

273 [192] ceremonies. The Spanish-American name is *tesvino*, probably connected with *vino*—wine, and the Americans have altered it to *tiswin*. *P'tiswing* was evidently another modification of *tesvino* or *tiswin*. The Indians, many of whom spoke Spanish, often used the term *tesvino* and now often use *tiswin* instead of the native term. *Tulapai* and *twiltkah-yee* were probably attempts of the whites to pronounce the native name. To make the beverage, shelled maize was soaked in water for about twenty-four hours and placed in a narrow trench lined on both sides with grass. The maize was covered with grass and soil, then with a blanket; or sometimes the blanket was laid directly over the corn without the use of grass and soil. Each morning the trench was sprinkled with water to facilitate the germination of the maize. When the corn-sprouts were about one and one-half inches long the seedlings were removed from the trench and finely ground twice between two rocks, then boiled in water until the mixture was reduced to half the original quantity. Enough water was added to fill the vessel and the liquid again boiled for a short time (until about two inches from the top of the vessel), strained through a cloth (at present a flour-sifter is often used), and cooled. It was allowed to ferment in a water jar until about noon of the next day, when it was ready for consumption. According to Hrdlička (*11*:191), as well as Browne (*3*:411), the general practice was to place the mash in a jar that previously had been used for brewing and which was never washed, the pores of the vessel retaining the organisms necessary to start fermentation. [263] In the absence of sugar, mesquite flour *(Prosopis glandulosa)* or sahuaro syrup *(Carnegiea gigantea)* was used as sweetening. This finished product is known as *tulbai* and must be drunk within a few hours after it is prepared or "it gets weak and is no good." In other words, the alcohol is converted into acetic acid, giving the beverage a sour taste.

273 462 Mention should be made here that the preparation of this beverage was the woman's work and prerogative, and men seldom had anything to do with the brewing. Some of

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

the women became quite proficient and well known for their abilities along this line. 273 [462]

The above was the usual method of preparing *tulbai* but a number of variations of the process have been developed. Ground wheat was often added to the boiled corn to make the beverage foam, also to make it stronger. Occasionally yeast was combined with the mixture and not infrequently the juice of fermented mescal was squeezed into the liquid to hasten fermentation as well as to give a blended flavor. Chips of shaved oak root *(Quercus grisea)* gave the *tulbai* flavor, and mesquite root *(Prosopis glandulosa)*, dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*, and hop flowers *(Humulus lupulus neomexicanus)* were used for the same purpose, and to make the drink stronger. Hrdlička *(12:27)* referred to small quantities of roots of native plants being added to *tulbai* as "medicine." Our observation is that this needs qualification, to the extent that the Apache do say that *tulbai* is "good for you" and "cleans you out," but they do not use it in the first instance as medicine. [137] [824]

Frequently, wheat instead of corn was used to make the beverage, the process of germination, grinding, boiling, and fermenting being the same as with corn.

Both the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache claim that they had no knowledge of *tulbai* in the distant past and that its use penetrated among them from the south. Most accounts have it that the Lipan Apache brought it northward, but some state it was learned from the natives of northern Mexico. Hrdlička *(11:190)* and Browne *(3:411)* are of the opinion that the preparation and use of this beverage was learned by the Apache from the Mexican Indians, Hrdlička recording that it was brought to the White River Apache from the more southerly Chiricahua Apache, who were said to have learned to make it in Mexico. 273 177

Murphy *(16:347)*, writing in 1865 as military superintendent of the Mescalero Apache, recorded his reluctance to give these Indians whole corn because they made from it an intoxicating drink--*"teeswin"* on which they got very drunk. In consequence no corn, but corn flour, 273 648